1975 - 2005

مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجستير
مقدمة بقسم العلوم السياسية و العلاقات الدولية
فرع العلاقات الدولية

عمرون محمد

بوقارة حسين

1426 - 7142

2006



- ✓ إلى الوالدين العزيزين أطال الله في عمرهما، واللذان كانا دعما وسندا لي طوال مشواري الدراسي.
- ✓ إلى إخوتي وأخواتي: وسيلة، سميرة، فاطمة الزهراء، نور الدين، كمال، سيدعلي.
- ✓ إلى إسلام، ليلى، ياسر ، فارس، زهير *براعم العائلة*
- ✓ إلى أستاذي المحترم "بوقارة حسين"، وكل من تتلمذت على يدهم دون استثناء.
- ✓ إلى رفقاء الدراسة: سمين أحمد، حميد رامي، مسعد سفيان، شايف بن علي جار الله،عبد الوهاب عمروش، بودي لمين.
- ✓ إلى الأصدقاء عبد الكريم، إبراهيم غانم، مرسي محمد، بدر غربي وكل الأحبة والأصدقاء دون استثناء.

عمرون محمد



- ✓ بداية أشكر الله و أحمده عز وجل على أن وفقني لإتمام هذا العمل المتواضع:

⊆...ربي أوزعني أن أشكر نعمتك التي أنعمت عليّ وعلى والديّ وأن أعمل صالحا ترضاه وأدخلني برحمتك في عبادك الصالحين⊂ -الآية 19 من سورة النمل-

- ✓ إلى كل العائلة الكريمة وخصوصا الوالدين على دعمهم المتواصل لي.
- ✓ إلى أستاذي المشرف الدكتور "بوقارة حسين"، أتوجه بخالص شكري على توجيهاته القيمة ودعمه المعنوي المتواصل، فجزاه الله عني كل خير.
- ✓ إلى الأساتذة أعضاء لجنة المناقشة على جهدهم المشكور في إثراء هذا العمل المتواضع، والمساهمة في تصحيحه وتقويمه.
- ✓ إلى الأساتذة والصحفيين المشاركين في الاستبيان، من داخل الجزائر وخارجها.
- ✓ إلى منظمة الكشافة الإسلامية الجزائرية وعلى رأسها القائد العام السيد: نور الدين بن براهم، والمفوض الدولي السيد: مشاي عبد الكريم.
- ✓ إلى مسئولي الاتحاد الوطني للشبيبة الصحراوية على التسهيلات الكبيرة التي قدموها لي خلال زياراتي المختلفة لمخيمات اللاجئين الصحراويين، وعلى رأسهم أمينها العام السيد موسى سلمة.
- ✓ إلى كل من ساعدني ولو بالدعاء.

الطالب عمرون محمد

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3- [illegible] 'Daniel Voltman [illegible] **International dimensions of the western sahara conflit "** [illegible] 93 [illegible]

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فصل تمهيدي:

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7 - [illegible] http://www.islammemo.cc [illegible] 15 [illegible] 2005 [illegible] 9.

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الفصل الأول:

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إلى التواجد المغربي

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91 Sognihe

[42]

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52- [illegible] ص 12.

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[91] [illegible] .3

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(1980-1979)

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* [illegible].
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* [illegible].
* [illegible].[102]

100 - [illegible] 81-82.
101 - [illegible] 20.
102 - [illegible] 83.

[illegible]

[illegible] 276 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 31 [illegible] [103]

[illegible] 20 [illegible] 295 [illegible]

103 - [illegible] .45 [illegible]

[104] - Martine de Froberville, Op. cit. , p 69.

[105] [illegible] .48

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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107 - Maurice Barbier, Le conflit du Sahara occidental, (Paris: L'harmattan, 1982), p.p 297,298.

108 [illegible] .05

[illegible] [109] [illegible]

[illegible] (1288-1275) [illegible] 1288 [illegible] 22 [illegible] 12 [illegible]

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[109] [illegible] 1985-1945 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] NEP [illegible] .305

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110 - [illegible] 1986 [illegible] 91.

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01 - [illegible].

02 - [illegible]
.[illegible]

111 - [illegible] 110.
112 - [illegible] 92،93.
113 - [illegible] 1993 [illegible]
.15

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[illegible]

[illegible] 291 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 278 [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

[illegible] .[116]

[illegible]

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[illegible] (51) [illegible]

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[illegible] .

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51 [illegible]

[illegible] .

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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[116] - [illegible] .170 - 169

[illegible]

[illegible] [117]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 279 [illegible] 284 [illegible] 288 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [118]

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117 [illegible] 171-172.

118 [illegible] 6.

[illegible] (1985/1984 [illegible]) [illegible]

[illegible] 287 [illegible] 285 [illegible] [119] [illegible] [120] [illegible] 286 [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] [*] [illegible]

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[119] [illegible] .04 [illegible]

[120] [illegible] :1975 – 2005 [illegible] 40/2005 [illegible] http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/711.asp 2005/03/30 [illegible] .2 [illegible]

[*] [illegible]

[illegible]
.[121](273 [illegible] 270 [illegible]) [illegible]

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[illegible] .[122] [illegible]

[illegible] .[123]

[illegible]:

1 - [illegible].

2 - [illegible].

3 - [illegible].

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121 - [illegible] 1991 [illegible] 498 [illegible] .56 [illegible]
122 - [illegible] .37 [illegible]
123 - [illegible] .201 [illegible]

- 4 [illegible] .[124]

- 5 [illegible].

- 6 [illegible] .[125]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]

[124] [illegible] (987 [illegible] .269

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[illegible]

[illegible] 1

[illegible]

[illegible] [126]

[illegible] 67 [illegible]

[illegible] [127]

[illegible] 73 [illegible]

[illegible]

126 - [illegible] 46 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 7.

127 - [illegible] 2.

[illegible] .[128] [illegible]

[illegible]

2- [illegible]

3- [illegible] 263 [illegible] 272 [illegible] 19 [illegible]

4- [illegible] Algérophobie* [illegible]

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[128] [illegible] 3.

* [illegible] Phobie [illegible].

[illegible] 95 [illegible] 75 [illegible]

[illegible] phobie [illegible]

[illegible] 5

[illegible]

[illegible] 6

[illegible] 78) [illegible] 30 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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129 [illegible] 268 [illegible] 269.

.[130]

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(Le M.P.A.I.A)

[130]

.125 2003-2002

3 - [illegible]

4 - [illegible]

05 - [illegible]

[illegible] [131]

[illegible]

[illegible] [132]

[131] - Maurice Barbier, Op.cit, p.304.
[132] - Ibidem.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1- [illegible]

2- [illegible]

[illegible] 1978 [illegible][133]

[illegible]

133 - Ibid, p. p 306-307.

[illegible]

2 [illegible]

[illegible] 75 [illegible] [134]

[illegible] 75 [illegible] 1 [illegible] 3 [illegible] [135]

[illegible]

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134 - [illegible] 15 [illegible] 999 [illegible] 15.

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[137] [illegible] .13

[138] [illegible] .131

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[140] - Maurice barbier, op.cit, p 309.

[141] ... 20 ... 412 ... 2000 ...

[illegible]

4- [illegible]:

[illegible] 1978 [illegible]

[illegible] 1975 [illegible].[142]

[illegible]

142 - [illegible] 1975 – 2005 [illegible] 3.

ýĠ̗džŎ5 K'ĠĠĠĳ yŏþÃk Ŏ5 K'DDž ŧþĠ ƙƒ ăƨPĪĂ ƨƒƒƨɳ!ƒ ydžŧþĠź ŧŏ ĠĂDŏ K'Ġűź

Ŏ5ĭ ƨƒƒƨɳ!ƒ ƻ pĂdž ƨŏĠ ĭ Ƙƒ ŎĠĠĂ !ƒ þĠƙŭ! ŧƞĿ!ƒĠŰT!ƒ Σ ƼĂ ÜĿþDŽĿþ K'ĠĂƨodž

.ƔƧdž ydžŇþűź Ĭ DžŽK'pĂƒ K'ƒȐŎ5ŬĠĂ YƒƨĿƒ

الفصل الثاني:

المسار الدبلوماسي لتسوية نزاع الصحراء الغربية

[illegible] 291 [illegible]
[illegible] 297 [illegible]
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[illegible] 299 [illegible] 297 [illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible] 270 [illegible] "MLS" [illegible] 272 [illegible] 15 [illegible] 12 [illegible] [143] [illegible]

[illegible] 276 [illegible]

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[143] [illegible] www.alasr.ws [illegible] 08 [illegible] 2004 [illegible] .05

144 - Martine de froberville, op.cit, p.p. 91-93.

[illegible]

[illegible] 279 [illegible]

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[illegible] 27 [illegible] 24 [illegible]

.[145] [illegible] 281

[illegible] 02 [illegible]

.[146] [illegible]

[illegible] 281 [illegible]

[illegible] 15 [illegible]

[illegible] - 1

18 [illegible]

[illegible] 274 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[145] - [illegible] 48.

[illegible]

[illegible] –2 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] –3 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] –4 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] –5 [illegible]

[illegible] [147] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 82 [illegible] 22 [illegible]

[illegible] AHG 104 [illegible] 83 [illegible] 11 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[146] [illegible] .113 [illegible]

[147] [illegible] .146 [illegible]

[illegible]

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148 - Martine de froberville, op.cit, p 95.

149 - [illegible] 114.

[illegible] 1988 [illegible] 01 [illegible]

[illegible] .[150] [illegible] 1988 [illegible] 30 [illegible]

[illegible] /21360/28-06-1990 [illegible]

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[illegible]

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] .[151]

[illegible] 690 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[150] - Martine de froberville, op.cit, p. p. 100-101.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] 01

[illegible] 245 [illegible] 03 [illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] 246 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][153]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 252 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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151 - [illegible] 114 - 115.

152 - [illegible] 54.

153 - [illegible] 89.

[illegible] [154]. [illegible]

[illegible] 260 [illegible] 273.

[illegible] 23 [illegible] 273 [illegible] 273 [illegible] 07 [illegible] 3016 [illegible] 275 [illegible] [155].

[illegible] 275 [illegible] 18 [illegible] 274 [illegible] 29 [illegible].

[illegible] 276 [illegible] 276 [illegible] 15 [illegible] [156].

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[154] [illegible] 90.

[155] [illegible] 55.

[156] [illegible] 277 [illegible] 43.

[illegible]

[illegible] 73 [illegible] [157]

[illegible]

01- [illegible]

02- [illegible]

03- [illegible]

04- [illegible]

[illegible] .[158] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] - 02

[illegible]

[illegible] 287 [illegible] 4 [illegible] [159] [illegible] 288 [illegible] 6 [illegible]

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157 - [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 46 [illegible] .05

158 - [illegible] 76 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .12

[illegible]

159- Paul Balta, op.cit., p181.

160 - Martine de froberville, op.cit, p p 106,107.

[161] - Benjamin Stora, Akram Illyés, op.cit, P.35.

[162] - Martine de froberville, Op.cit, p 108.

[illegible]

[illegible] [163]

[illegible]

[illegible] [164]

[illegible]

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[164] - [illegible] www.hizbutahrir.org.uk [illegible] 18 [illegible] 2005 [illegible] 3.

[illegible]

[illegible] [165]

[illegible] [166] [illegible] 2002 [illegible] %8.83 [illegible]

[illegible] %84.85 [illegible]

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[165] [illegible] 5.

[166] [illegible] 112.

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1. [illegible] 1514 [illegible] 14 [illegible] 1960 [illegible].[167]

2. [illegible] 263 [illegible].[168]

3. [illegible] 2072 [illegible] 16 [illegible] 1965 [illegible]

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167 - [illegible] 68 [illegible].

168 - [illegible] 109 [illegible].

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[illegible] 266 [illegible] 520
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.[169] 1973/3162 [illegible] 1972/2983 [illegible] 1970/2711

[illegible] 1975 [illegible]
.[170] [illegible]

[illegible] 1975/377 [illegible] 1975 [illegible] 22 [illegible]
: [illegible] 1975 [illegible] 18 [illegible]

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169 - [illegible] 69.
170 - [illegible] 110.

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[illegible] 1975 [illegible] 21 [illegible]
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[illegible]

[illegible] .D
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[illegible] .Y

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[illegible] 379 [illegible] 377 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible] 75/379.[171]

8. [illegible] 3458 [illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible] 75 [illegible]:

[illegible] 14 [illegible]

[illegible] 1975 [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] 15/1514.

[illegible] 1975 [illegible] 14 [illegible]

[illegible].

171- [illegible] 75/380 [illegible] www.onu.org [illegible] 2004 [illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible] .[172] [illegible]

[illegible] 275 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 283 [illegible] 07 [illegible] .[173] [illegible]

5 [illegible] 41/39 [illegible] 284 [illegible]:

.1 [illegible]

[172] - [illegible] .71-70 [illegible]

[173] - [illegible] .112 [illegible]

2. [illegible] AHG/RES.104-XIX [illegible]
[illegible].

3. [illegible]
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[illegible].

4. [illegible]
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1. [illegible].

2. [illegible].

3. [illegible].

4. [illegible]
[illegible].[174]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

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174 - [illegible] .73

[illegible]

[illegible] 1988/621 [illegible] 1988 [illegible] 20 [illegible]

[illegible] 1988 [illegible] 19 [illegible]

22 [illegible] 33/43 [illegible]

[illegible] 1988 [illegible]

[illegible] 1988 [illegible] 30 [illegible]

[illegible] [175]

[illegible] 1991 [illegible] 690 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1992 [illegible] 1991 [illegible] [176]

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175. [illegible] 75.

176. [illegible] 112-113.

18 "S/21360"

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"MINURSO"*

* Le Minurso

[177]- Martine de froberville, op.cit, p.p 121-125.

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2 [illegible]

3 [illegible] 1974 [illegible]

4 [illegible][178]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1974 [illegible]

[illegible] 120 000 [illegible] 1974 [illegible][179]

[illegible] 170 000 [illegible]

[illegible] 1991 [illegible] 13 [illegible]

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178 - Ibid, p 139.

179 - [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 203.

[180]- Yahia Zoubir, op cit, p.18

ǑpǤǖ ɣ Ǳ ơ Ĭ DŽ Ĭ ƙơĂ ĭ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƻ ƧƱ!ƒ ɣ Ǳ ơ Ĭ DŽ ɣ ƧȝdžƒǮ

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ƻ pĂdžƒǮ ɣ Ǳ ơ Ĭ DŽ Ŏhǝȝdžƒǯ ƻ pĂdžƒǮ ƚ ǒĂ|ƙ Ĭ !ƍ Ŏdžƙ ǉƥĂnɳ ǇD

ă ƥ! ƚ ǒŽĂư ĂdžƒǮ DƥzǇƒ ĂǒƧǱ ǒĂhƒ ƚ nɳ Ƙ'DǛƮ ƚ ǒơhƲ Ǘ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ

.[182]ƚ ǒhǝȝ!ƒ ǤƒƧơƮ !ƒ Ŏ5 YƒƨǇƒ ýơ ǇŽ ǇǒĂǝƮ džƒǮ

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Ǉ! ǤǤƼƦ Űƒ ǇDĂǒƧǱ ǒĂhƒ YǤǇƒ DǤǚĂ ǗǤɳƧǤĂ ǤDŽƥ ĭ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ

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ŎƘ!ƒ ƚ ǒĂƥ!ƒĂ ƚ ǒĂnɳ!ƒ ƻ ĂƧƲ!ƒ ƧŇƙ ƚ ǒǬ Ĭ !ƍ ƚ DǛǚƒĂ ƚ ǇƥǤǚƒǮ

DƥĂ ɣ ƒƧƱư Űƒ ǉƨŇdǒ Ǉǂ ƧƑƨɳ!ƒ Ŏ5 yư Ă!Ǥ Ǘ|| ƒƦǇDǀƥƑǱ Ƙ'Ǉǂ

yư Ă!ƒ Ĭ DŽ DǛPƙ ƚ ǒǇǤ!ƒ ǊǒDŽƒ ɣ Ƨơ Ƙ'Ǉǂ ǤǚǤƲǗǑƮ Ǳ !ƒ ƧƒƧ|Ʀ Űƒ

.DǛ!ƒ ýǬ TǇƒ ƨĂơƙĂ Ŏ!Ăƥ!ƒ

ƧǒƧ|ƙ ǊDǛǑ Ǥdž Ĭ !ƍ Dž993 ƚ Ǉ ƚ ǒƒƥhƲ ƧǤǇǗƒ Ƙ'nɳĂƙĂ

1993 ŎƼǇǤ 26 Ŏ5Ă Ǘ ƥǒƥɳ Ƙ'ƒǤƒƧɳƍ ǇdžǇdǗƒ Σ DɳdžDǛ!ƒ ǇǒdǗƒ

:ŎǊĂ Ǘ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ YƒƨǇƒ ýơ! ǀƥǒƥɳ ýƑƒƥhƚ ŭ ƛ DǛ!ƒ ǇǒdǗƒ Dƥp Dž

ǤpǤǇ ƒ Ƨ5 Ǌƥơ ŎƘ!ƒĂ- Ƙ'ǤơǤdžƒǮ ƻ ǒĂǂƙĂ ƚ DŽƒĂdž (D

.-ƚ ù ƼǒŽư

ƚ Ǉǰǔ ƙdžƒǮ Ƙ'ǤƒƧƘpŰƒ Σ Ǳ 'D Ĭ DŽ ƚ ǒĂƮ Ƙ!ƒ ƱƱPdž ĭ Ă|!ƒ ƽ ǒhƱƘ!ƒ (ɣ

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ƧǱ džŎ5 || ƧǤ ŏ Ǉ! ƻ ƒƧƱŰƒ ƥơDýƶɳ Ĭ !ƍ ĭ ƥǝŏ ƥp ýǒƥhƒ ƒƦǊĂ .(S/

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.204 ƒ Ǘǂ ƦƽƦ yɳƧdžǗ ƥdž ƥǭ !ƒ Ǌǰǒŏ-[181]

[182] - Yahia Zoubir, op.cit, p.p 19,20.

[183] - Yahia Zoubir, Yahia Zoubir, Daniel Voltman, International dimensions of the western sahara conflit, (London: Praeger, 1993) , p p..19-20

[184] - .212

[illegible] 809 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 993 [illegible]

[illegible] 994 [illegible]

[illegible] 10 [illegible] 994 [illegible]

[illegible] 994 [illegible]

[illegible] -1

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(2) (1) [185]

1995

1996

[186] 1997

185 ص 116.

186 ص 217.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 296 [illegible] 27 [illegible] 1084 [illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible][187]

[illegible] 997 [illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]

187 - [illegible] 85.

[illegible] [188] [illegible] [189]

[illegible] 1997 [illegible] [190] [illegible] 1997 [illegible] [191]

[illegible] 1997 [illegible] 20-19 [illegible] 1997 [illegible] 29 [illegible] [192]

[illegible] 14 [illegible]

[188] - [illegible] 127.
[189] [illegible] 5.
[190] - [illegible] 83 [illegible] 84.
[191] [illegible] 6.

[illegible] 997 [illegible] [illegible] [193] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [194] 97 [illegible] 997 [illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

[192] [illegible] 87

[193] [illegible] 85

[194] [illegible] 6

[illegible] .3

[illegible] .

[illegible] .4

[illegible] .

[illegible] II [illegible] 18 [illegible]

[illegible] .

[illegible] III

[illegible] 6 [illegible]

[illegible] H61, H41 - J61/52 [illegible] 96 [illegible] .[195]

[illegible] 97 [illegible] 15 [illegible] 98 [illegible] 1 [illegible] 98 [illegible] 7 [illegible] 6 [illegible] 16 [illegible] 98 [illegible] .[196] 98 [illegible] 7 [illegible] 98

[illegible]

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195 - Résolution de la 2eme série de pourparlers juillet 1997 19,20 ,directes, Londres.

196 - [illegible] 86.

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
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[illegible]

1- [illegible].

2- [illegible].

3- [illegible].

4- [illegible].

[illegible].[197]

[illegible]:

[illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible]

[197]- [illegible] ص 215.

74.902 ... 1974

... 1974 ...

(A, B, C, D, E, F, G , H ,I , J) ...

(H ,I , J) ... (A, B, C, D, E, F, G) ...

J51,J52 ... H61 ... H41 ...

... [198] ... 1974 ...

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4. ...

5. ...

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198 - ... .132

199 - Hafida Amyar, op.cit, p73.

200 - ... .98

[illegible]

2- [illegible]

3- [illegible]

4- [illegible] [201]

[illegible] 34788 [illegible] 47325 [illegible] 45877 [illegible] 61198 [illegible] 84251 [illegible] 5462 [illegible]

[illegible] 298 [illegible] 03 [illegible] 65000 [illegible] 274 [illegible] [202]

[illegible] 37996 [illegible] 46255) [illegible]

201- [illegible] 14 [illegible] 115.

202- [illegible] 221.

.[203]

30

298

.[204]

."J51/52, H41, H61" .1

147000 .2

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299 .[205] .4

299 08 299

86 381 2000 17

2000

.2 299 13 www.islamonline.net [203]

.9 [204]

.cit, p75 [205]- Hafida Amyar, op

[illegible] 298 [illegible]
[illegible].[206]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 120.000 [illegible]
[illegible] 100 [illegible].[207]

[illegible]

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[illegible]
[illegible] 274 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 298 [illegible].

206- [illegible] 6.
207- [illegible] www.marxy.com [illegible] 13 [illegible] 299 [illegible] 10.

[illegible]

[illegible] 75.49% [illegible] 2002 [illegible]

[illegible] 2000 [illegible].[208]

[illegible] 274 [illegible]

[illegible].[209]

[208] - [illegible] 101.

[209] - [illegible] 15.

[illegible]

[illegible] 298 [illegible] 298 [illegible] 200 [illegible]

[illegible] 299 [illegible] 238 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[210] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[211] [illegible]

[illegible] 200 [illegible] 526 [illegible]

(1 [illegible]

(2 [illegible] 3,4 [illegible] 973,7 [illegible] 291

[illegible] .[212] [illegible]

- 210 [illegible] .102 [illegible]
- 211 [illegible] .17 [illegible]
- 212 [illegible] 35 [illegible] 999 [illegible] .95 [illegible]

[illegible] 2000 [illegible] 4 [illegible] 2000 [illegible] 28 [illegible]:

1. [illegible].
2. [illegible].
3. [illegible].
4. [illegible].[213]

[illegible] 1995 [illegible] 'Rudy Jack [illegible].

[illegible].

[213] [illegible] .07

الفصل الثالث:

نزاع الصحراء والبحث عن الحل السياسي

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 2001 [illegible] 22 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible].[214]

[illegible]
[illegible]:

[illegible] 01 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible].

[illegible] 02 [illegible]
[illegible]

[214] [illegible] www.aljazeera.net [illegible] 07 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .01

[illegible] (2) [illegible]

[illegible] - 03 [illegible] 99 [illegible] 30 [illegible]

[illegible] 31 [illegible] 31 [illegible] 98 [illegible] 00.

[illegible] - 04 [illegible] (3) [illegible] 1997 [illegible]

[illegible] - 05 [illegible]

[illegible] .[215]

[illegible]

[illegible] 05 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

215- [illegible] 613/ 2001/[illegible] 22 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .15

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[216][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[216] [illegible]
[illegible] 253 [illegible] 26 [illegible] 01 [illegible] .02

[illegible]

[illegible] [217]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 26 [illegible] 2000 [illegible] 2000 [illegible] 28 [illegible] [218] [illegible]

217- [illegible] .07

218- [illegible] .02

[illegible]

[illegible] 2002 [illegible] 517 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 00 [illegible]
.[219] [illegible]

[illegible] 130 [illegible]
[illegible] 299 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

219- [illegible] 199 [illegible] 23 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .11

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[220] [illegible]

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[220] - [illegible] .08

[illegible]

1 - [illegible]

2 - [illegible] 1309 [illegible]
25 [illegible] 2000 [illegible]

3 - [illegible]
[illegible] 99[221].

4 - [illegible]

5 - [illegible] [222] [illegible]
[illegible] [223].

6 - [illegible]

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221 - [illegible] 76 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 10.

222 - [illegible] 199 [illegible] 23 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 11.

[illegible]

- 223 [illegible] 3253 [illegible] 26 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .02

[illegible]

- 224 Hamid Ziad, Vers un compromis historique, Arabies, Revue mensuel, N°02, SME, janvier 2002, p181.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[225] [illegible] www.aljazeera.net [illegible] 07 [illegible] 01 [illegible] .5

[illegible] .[226]

[illegible] .[227]

[illegible]

[illegible]

226 - [illegible] 346 [illegible] 12 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .02

[illegible] 16 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] [228] [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 20 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[227] - [illegible] 200 [illegible] 24 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .11

[228] - [illegible] 2002 [illegible] www.ahram.org.eg [illegible] 25 [illegible] 2005 [illegible] .1

[229]

2002

[229] www.aljazeera.net 2003

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[illegible] .[230] [illegible] 276 [illegible]

[illegible]

.[231] [illegible]

[illegible] 276 [illegible]

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[illegible] 212 [illegible]

230- [illegible] 467/ 2002/S [illegible] 20 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 10.

231- [illegible] 8.

[illegible] 27.40 [illegible]
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11 [illegible]
[illegible]
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.[232] [illegible]

[illegible]
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[illegible] 02 [illegible] 30 [illegible]
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[illegible] .[233] [illegible]
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[232] [illegible] .09

[illegible]

[illegible][234] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 26 [illegible]

[illegible] 2002 [illegible] 26 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 30 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 30 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][235] [illegible]

[illegible] 29 [illegible]

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[233] [illegible] 2002 [illegible] .3

[234] [illegible] www.aljazeera.net [illegible] (2003 [illegible] 02) [illegible] .13

○ المطلب الثاني: مخطط بيكر الثاني ومحاولة تجاوز الانسداد

.[237] [illegible] 90 [illegible] -

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

.1495 [illegible]

[illegible]

.[238] [illegible]

[illegible]

:[illegible]

[illegible] - 1

[illegible] 275 [illegible] 14 [illegible]

[illegible] 276 [illegible] 14 [illegible]

[illegible] 02 [illegible] 29 [illegible]

[illegible] 5. [illegible]

.[illegible]

.04 [illegible] 2003 [illegible] www.alasr.ws [illegible] -237

.18 [illegible] -238

2- [illegible]
[illegible]
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3- [illegible]
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4 [illegible] 279 [illegible] 20% [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] .[239]

5- [illegible]
[illegible]
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[illegible] .[240]

6- [illegible] 1495 [illegible]
[illegible]

239 [illegible] 10-11.
240- [illegible] 115.

[illegible]

1- [illegible]

[illegible] .[241]

2- [illegible]

241- [illegible] .15 [illegible]

[illegible] 3 [illegible]

[illegible] - 4 [illegible]

[illegible] - 5 [illegible] 999 [illegible].[242]

[illegible] 1495 [illegible].

[242] [illegible] .12

[illegible]

[illegible] .[243] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 04 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 - [illegible]

[illegible]

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[243] - [illegible] 1975 – 2005 [illegible] .02 [illegible]

[illegible] 7 [illegible] 6 [illegible] [244] [illegible] * [illegible]

[illegible] 2004 [illegible] - 2

[illegible]

[illegible] - 3

[illegible]

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244 - [illegible] 174 [illegible] 25 [illegible] 2004 [illegible] 2 .

* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 2001 [illegible] 11 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible].[245]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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245 - [illegible]: 1975 – 2005: [illegible] .03 [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] 11 [illegible][246] [illegible]
[illegible] 2001
[illegible]

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[illegible] 275 [illegible]
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[illegible] 275.

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[illegible]
[illegible] 2004.
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[illegible]
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[246] [illegible]

.[247]

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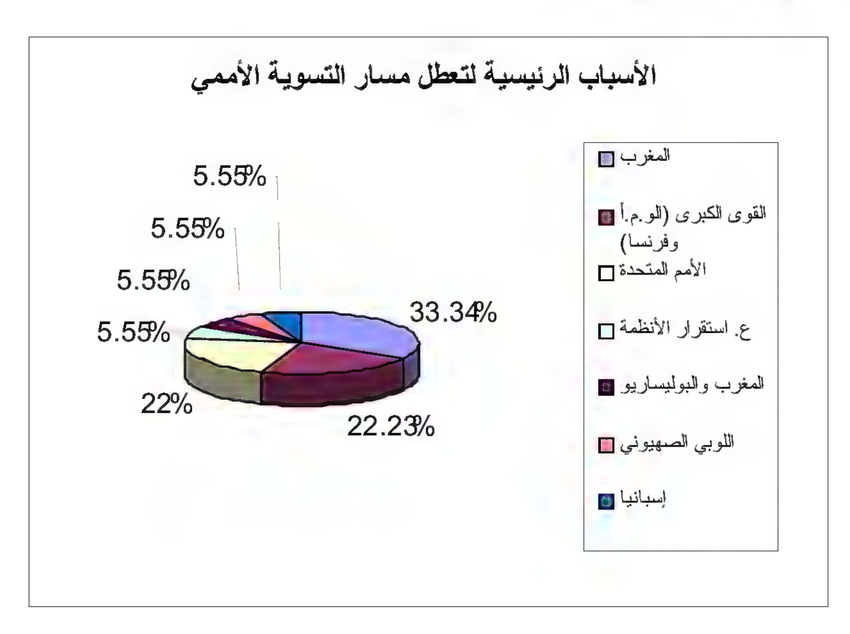
[247] 1975 – 2005 .06

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الإجابة	العدد	النسبة
المغرب	10	%33.34
[illegible]	10	%22.23

		[illegible]
%22.23	10	[illegible]
%5.55	*10*	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]

[illegible]:



[illegible] Status quo [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] 16 [illegible] 380 [illegible] 275 [illegible] 690 [illegible] 275 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 1359 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 05 [illegible]

[illegible] 248 [illegible]

248 [illegible] 138.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

01 - [illegible]

02 - [illegible]

03 - [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 02

الإجابة	العدد	النسبة
تفعيل مخطط التسوية الأممي	10	%71.42
[illegible]	10	%14.29
[illegible]	10	%14.29

[illegible]


الحلول الممكنة للنزاع الصحراوي
14.29%
14.29%
71.42%
تفعيل مخطط التسوية
تقسيم الإقليم
الوصاية الأممية للإقليم

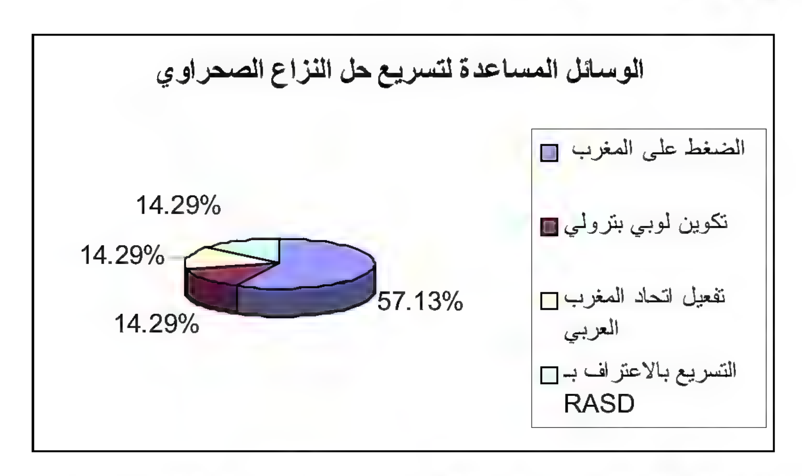
04 - [illegible].

[illegible]:

03 [illegible]

الإجابة	العدد	النسبة
الضغط على المغرب	10	%57.13
[illegible]	10	%14.29
[illegible]	10	%14.29
[illegible]	10	%14.29

[illegible]:



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 05 [illegible]

[illegible]

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1 - [illegible] «Status quo» [illegible].

2 - [illegible].

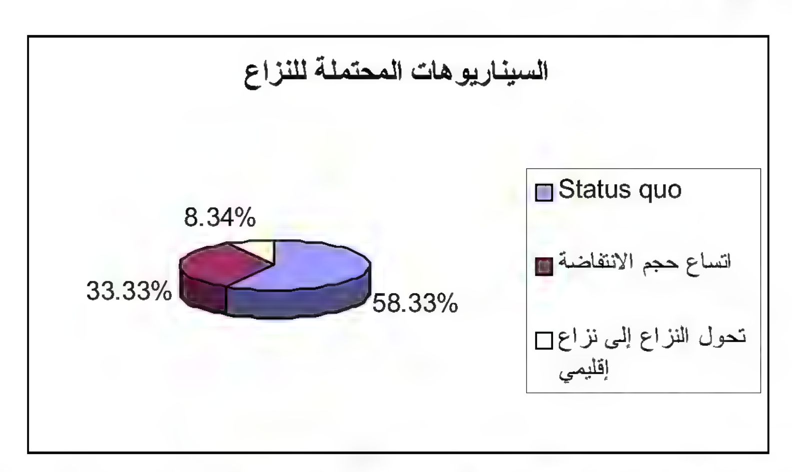
3 - [illegible].

[illegible]:

04 [illegible]

النسبة	العدد	الإجابة
%58.33	10	Status quo
%33.33	10	[illegible]
%08.33	10	[illegible]

[illegible]:



[illegible] Le Status quo [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible].

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[illegible].*

[illegible] 10 [illegible]*

[illegible].

Ňǒǆƚ ý╪ DĞ!ƒĂ ƚ|ƱLJĞŭYG ĂŪƒ Ğŝ ƨk ƥ Ǒƙƒ KŬŇbƙƒ ƚ ƵƧ Ă ƚ ƒoŪƒ ƨĂƱkĬ |hŏĂ
ĞĂƙdžýhŭ dž Ĭ |hŏ Ŭrņ..2 ƥĂdžĂ KĞĂDž Ljdžǒ ŏ!ƒĂ KĞŅƚƒ Ljdžǒ ŏ!ƒ - ǑƑĐžý╪TĂ
.ýĞŏƒ LjdžǒƚDĬ DžŽ


الخاتمة

[illegible] 284 [illegible] 275 [illegible]

[illegible] 279 [illegible]

[illegible] 291 [illegible] 295 [illegible] 297 [illegible] 291 [illegible]

[illegible] 30 [illegible]

[illegible]:

[illegible]:

[illegible] 275 [illegible]

[illegible] 2001 [illegible]
.[illegible]

[illegible] 1991 [illegible]
[illegible] 2001 [illegible]
[illegible] 2002 [illegible]
[illegible]
.[illegible]

[illegible]
.[illegible] 1991 [illegible]

[illegible]:

[illegible]
[illegible] 2002 [illegible]
[illegible] (%94) [illegible]
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.[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] status quo [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ..... [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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. Ǒ!Ǥơ!ƒ

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Ǥƨơ˥ !ƒ Yƒƨ Ljǎ[illegible] ǒ [illegible] ƨǒ ƒƨǤT Ï |hǒ ƨǒ[illegible] ǑƘ!ƒ ɣ Ƨʒdž ƥǤƙ
ýǍ!ƒ Ü[illegible] Ü Lǰ[illegible] ǎ ƥơ[illegible] ƒƦNjýǒ[illegible] Ï |hǒǍ ÜǑ[illegible] ýǍǤ Üǒ[illegible]
K[illegible] ǛǤ[illegible] ǤǤ ƵD Lǰ[illegible] K˘ǚ[illegible] ý ŧ Ljdž ŧ ǒ[illegible] Ǥƨơ˥ !ƒ ƻ D[illegible]
ƻ ƤǍdž ƨǒ[illegible] ǎ ƥ[illegible] ƨǤ dž Ǒ5 D[illegible] ï [illegible] ɣ Ƨʒdž [illegible] ƒ ý|LD[illegible] ý[illegible]
[illegible] ǍƞǑ[illegible] ǤǒÜ[illegible] K˂Ǥ ƥǤƙ! ŧ dž K˂ƒǤ 05 K˂D[illegible] ||!Ʀ ɣ [illegible] ǍÜ Ƨƒƨ ƞ!ƒ
ɣ Ƨʒdž ƥǤ[illegible] ÜǑ[illegible] ï ƨǍƨư Nǰ! ɣ ƶ˥ ƻ ƤǍdž ǑƘ!ƒ ɣ Ƨʒdž ƥǤƙ ǤǤ ƵD
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الخرائط

الخريطة رقم 01



www.islamonline.net

الخريطة الرقم 2

التقسيم الإداري والجغرافي للصحراء الغربية



الخريطة الرقم 3

المدن ومراكز التوطن الرئيسية بالصحراء الغربية



الخريطة الرقم 4

توزيع المجموعات القبلية الرئيسية
في الصحراء الغربية وتحركاتهم



الخريطة الرقم 5

الأهمية الاقتصادية للصحراء الغربية



الخريطة الرقم 6

الحدود المغربية المطالب بها "المغرب الكبير"



الخريطة الرا 7

تقسيم الصحراء الغربية بين المغرب وموريتانيا




الملاحق

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